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WILLIAM DOUGLAS PAWLEY

1400 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING

MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

May 22, 1963

Lt. General Marshall S. Carter
Quarters 14
Fort McNair
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Pat:

I am enclosing newspaper article written by Hal Hendrix on the Dominican Republic. This is a very accurate estimate of the situation there and one that should not be read purely as a newspaper article but as information based on a very accurate analysis of the situation. As the other articles appear, I will send them along.

I am also sending a copy of a speech made by Marshall Wise dealing with the refugee problem here in Miami. The last two pages cover the subject quite accurately and I believe this might be of some value for your files.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

William D. Pawley
J.A.

WDP:DF
Enclosures

Red Tide Rising In Dominican

By HAL HENDRIX
Miami News Latin America Editor

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — Subtle and peaceful Communist penetration of the Dominican Republic is progressing with incredible speed and efficiency.

There is ample evidence — ominous evidence — that Communist forces closely aligned with Cuba and the Kremlin, aided by naive supporting leftist elements, are working both openly and covertly to turn this country into a second Communist-dominated bastion in the Caribbean.

It is not a noisy and spectacular transition such as the world witnessed in Cuba. It is being accomplished with considerable sophis-



Is the new "democratic left" government of the Dominican Republic paving the way for a second Communist conquest in the Caribbean? The Miami News' Pulitzer Prize-winning Latin America Editor Hal Hendrix finds ominous signs in that tortured island nation which he reports in this first article of a five-part series.

tification and has managed so far to use a number of well-meaning Americans and Latins as dupes.

Echoes and reflections of Cuba in mid-1959, a few months after Fidel Castro catapulted to power

in Havana, are becoming increasingly audible and visible. Missing from the Dominican scene are the "barbudos," Castro's bearded gun-toting guerrillas, and the quick elimination of the organized armed forces at the Castro-type executive walls. Otherwise, many of the sounds and sights are alarmingly similar to those which punctuated the early, "social revolution" days of 1959 in what has since become a Communist regime in Cuba.

The transformation process is being unhindered by the often proclaimed democratic government of President Bosch, which was inaugurated only two months ago and hailed by the U.S. government and some Latin Ameri-

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Dominicans Caught In Red Tide

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can nations as a "champion of democracy."

Top officials and behind-the-scenes advisers in the Bosch government steadfastly deny that communism here poses any real threat or that its influence in Dominican politics and life is growing.

These officials argue vigorously that after 31 years of dictatorial rule by Rafael Trujillo and a year of council-of-state government, the Dominican Republic is at last becoming a "true democracy," and that contrary statements are only the work of last year's election losers. However, behind this smokescreen, the government of the Dominican Republic today is slipping rapidly into Communist control.

One Western diplomat, familiar with the Communist take-over in Cuba, declares that the situation here "is moving 10 times faster than it did in Havana, and this has been called a 'showcase of democracy.'"

There is, unfortunately, puzzling evidence that Washington, which has extended its wholehearted support and praise to the Bosch regime, is not being candidly advised of the sustained Communist developments here by U.S. Ambassador John Bartlow Martin.

Sources closely familiar with the American embassy confide that full reports on the gravity of the situation here have not been transmitted by Ambassador Martin to the State Department or to the White House.

And it is known that one of Bosch's key advisers, Romanian-born Sasha Volman, who is a naturalized U.S. citizen, has a direct line to a presidential aide in the White House to press the Bosch government's position, philosophies and line. The Western diplomatic colony here, apart from the American embassy, feels that Washington consequently is getting a "snow job."

The lack of accurate communication between the American Embassy here and Washington is viewed by some responsible observers as another echo of Havana in mid-1959, when the U.S. envoy, Ambassador Philip Bernal, was battling up significant trends and developments.

MISJUDGED CASTRO

At a recent U.S. policy planners in Washington gravely misjudged Castro and the unfolding pattern in Cuba for a prolonged period.

Many responsible Dominicans and others here fear that the State Department and White House now are similarly miscalculating the true Dominican picture and developments.

They point out that the deception taking place in the Dominican Republic is made easier because, relatively speaking, the historically troubled nation which shares the turbulent island of Hispaniola with Haiti has experienced a remarkably peaceful period in the wake of the assassination of dictator Trujillo two years ago May 30.

There was no great blood-bath after the collapse of the prolonged one-man dictatorship, even though long pent-up hatreds made it susceptible. The chances also were enhanced by the power vacuum which was Trujillo's principal legacy.

While a seven-man council of state ruled the country last year, an orderly and free election was held last December and Bosch, who had spent more than half his life out of the country as a political exile, won the presidency as head of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD).

It had been expected that after the death of Trujillo, the Communists would move in quickly to take advantage of the anticipated chaos and confusion. They were only moderately successful in their infiltration schemes.

Last fall, during the October crisis over Soviet offensive missiles and bombers, secretly implanted in Communist Cuba, the ruling Dominican council of state ordered deportation of known Communists under an emergency law.

COMMIES DEPORTED

A substantial number of Communists were expelled, but the council was somewhat lax in carrying out its announced cleanup of known Red trouble-makers.

However, since President Bosch's inauguration, more than 150 of the deported Communists have been allowed to return home and circulate freely.

Some have found government jobs. Others are teaching in a new Communist-front school called the Institute of Social Sciences and Economic Planning. Still others have infiltrated into labor organizations and the University of Santo Domingo.

Many of the returning Com-



Trouble Spots

munists came from Cuba. Others are known to have returned from Prague. Some came from the Soviet Union and various Iron Curtain countries by way of Paris.

"You can bet your life that these Communists just aren't sitting around enjoying the sunshine after the trips to Havana and Eastern Europe," commented a responsible and concerned Dominican professional leader.

Since the Communists began returning last March, the Bosch government has laid the foundation for a civilian militia. Ostensibly this organization is supposed to merely be for the purpose of protecting sugar cane fields from fires. But many observers here point out there is no need for fire-fighting vigilantes to have political indoctrination and militia-type drill instruction.

There also is puzzlement over the need for 17,000 of the so-called fire watchers.

INFILTRATION OF ARMY

There are continuing reports that there has been some Communist infiltration in the ranks of the Dominican army, especially among the lower-ranking officer corps and enlisted personnel. A similar toehold is suspected in the police ranks.

Military and police field grade officers are frankly worried about the visible Communist gains in political and public fields — and the lack of a firm stand against it by President Bosch.

There is growing whispered conversation that the day soon may be approaching when the military will demand that Bosch adopt a firm position against the Communists.

The Dominican business community is plainly scared about the Communist direction in the country.

Foreign investors also are apprehensive. There has been no new foreign investment in the country for the last year, and the Bosch regime did nothing to encourage it by driving the Standard Oil Co. (Esso) out of business here shortly after taking office.

"There won't be 10 centavos' worth of new investment in this country until Bosch speaks out in favor of Western policies and against the Communists, especially against Communist Cuba," declared one Dominican business executive.

Next: A parallel government?

New Setup 'Parallels' Bosch Rule

The Communists are moving fast in the Dominican Republic to set up a new "Cuba." Pulitzer-Prize winning Miami News Latin America Editor Hal Hendrix continues his report in this second article of a series.

By HAL HENDRIX
Miami News Latin America Editor

SANTO DOMINGO, Dominican Republic — A swiftly developing Communist apparatus here, increasingly active since the inauguration of what many believe to be a naive Bosch government two months ago, has drafted a master plan providing for creation of a "parallel government" which would be capable of assuming control of the country, in a moment of crisis.

Western diplomats have learned that copies of the document have been given to President Juan Bosch and to Angel Miolan, president of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD). Bosch is the titular head of the PRD.

One copy was made available recently to a resident foreign envoy after an anti-Communist relative of one of the key Communist leaders sneaked one of the drafts from its place of safekeeping and had a photostatic reproduction made before restoring it.

The 11-page document, called "Data and Plan of Action" and dated March 22, 1963, reportedly was drafted by Rafael Faxas Canio, one of the well known Communists here. Faxas was deported as a Communist subversive last fall. He returned here from Communist Cuba early in March.

Reds Set Up 'Government' To Take

Continued from Page 1A

analysis of the United States and Dominican Republic governments, the document spells out strategy and tactics for absorbing control of industries through workers, the agrarian structure through the peasants and the professional and intellectual elements of the country.

The working instrument would be called the Committee of Local-National Liberation.

"... we believe that this is the proper moment," the document states in its conclusions, "the most opportune moment for the creation of that work team, as well as to create the infrastructure organizations which on a given moment of crisis are capable of assuming charge of the government — creating now what might be called a 'parallel government.'"

"In part we can accomplish this by using as nuclei the thousands of committees and subcommittees (now in existence). In addition to being a functional structure, it would permit, in time, the decentralization of power and the advent of a type of self-government whose original cells would be in this nucleus."

The document stated that the correlation of progressive forces, at this moment, is formidable.

"History is on our side," it stated. "The strengthening of the socialist camp, the progress of the national liberation movements in the entire world, and the consolidation of the Cuban revolution in our continent back the progressive forces of history."

"Every day there are deeper and greater contradictions in the capitalist world."

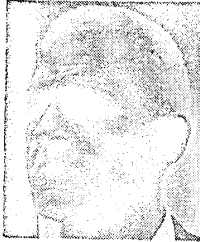
"Their methods of fighting are perfected and become more inhuman. After the Cuban triumph, the imperialists have training camps for their armies and the lackey armies of other countries."

"These men are trained in anti-guerrilla warfare and will be used against those who make a liberation effort ... and in future aggressions against Cuba ... unless we adopt adequate measures we will see the disappearance of our progressive leaders, perhaps sooner than we think ..."

The document accused the United States of sabotaging three airliners in Latin America last year to "eliminate progressive leaders."

Among its recommendations, the document called for the "personal and political preservation of Manolo, as a leader capable of advancing or retarding the Dominican revolutionary process." (Inasmuch as the most prominent "Manolo" in the pro-Communist circles is Manuel Tavarez Justo, head of the violent June 14 Movement, it is presumed by observers here that the document was referring to him.)

Tavarez Justo up to now has appeared to relish playing the role of a sort of lone wolf of the extremist element, not always immediately responsive to strict Communist party discipline.



JUAN BOSCH
... Document In His Hands?

"In view of the fact that the daily task of our leaders is overwhelming (trips, meetings, etc.)," the document stated, "they are unable to undertake the necessary study and investigation required to be properly posted on economy, politics, sociology, history and the world correlation of forces."

The plan then called for preparation of a continuing analysis of the world situation, of the advance and strength of the socialist countries in the "political and economic camps, the uneven development of capitalism, its crises, its antagonistic contradictions, situations of underdeveloped nations and the advance of national liberation movements" for the forementioned busy leaders.

The plan also called for increased use of Marxist manuals and closer regulation of "the acquisition of the better known capitalistic publications. . ."

How many copies of the planning document are in circulation here and what happened to the ones allegedly placed in the hands of President Bosch and Miolan, are two large unanswered questions.

Its first known appearance here has been linked to a move initiated by Jose Espaillet Rodriguez, who was among the first of last fall's Communist deportees to return from Communist Cuba last March, to unite the Red forces and related extremist groups into a United National Liberation Front (FULN).

The unity move was designed to include the Dominican Popular Movement (MPD), National Revolutionary Party (PNR), the Popular Socialist Party (PSP)

and the June 14 Movement and to push the straight orthodox Communist party line for "peaceful transition to socialism."

So far, Tavarez Justo's June 14 Movement has not openly joined the proposed bloc, reportedly because all the terms did not suit the ambitious Tavarez Justo. Thus, the reference to "Manolo" on the Communist master plan.

The Dominican military hierarchy, the Catholic Church and other observers here are on the alert for any and all hints of action which may be related to the "Data and Plan of Action" manual. They see in it too much of a Communist Cuban flavor for comfort.

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Dominican and foreign ob-

servers also are fully aware of the extent of Communist infiltration which already has been scored in various government departments and ministries and

see no reason to scoff at references to creation of a "parallel government" for a "given moment of crisis."

Next: A yacht cruise.

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Wednesday, May 22, 1963

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